

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9131
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 06678

EXDIS

USUN FOR AMB. YOUNG & MCHENRY FROM MAYNES

DEPT. FOR IO ONLY FROM MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SW, SA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTINGENCY PLANNING

1. WE WILL FACE SOME CHOICES FATEFUL FOR OVERALL U.S.-
AFRICAN AND US-UN RELATIONS IF SWAPO DOES NOT ACCEPT OUR
PROPOSALS. THIS CABLE IS A CONTRIBUTION TO EFFORTS WE
WILL HAVE TO UNDERTAKE TO MINIMIZE THE DAMAGE.

2. IN EVENT SWAPO DOES NOT COOPERATE, SOUTH AFRICA WILL
BE IN GOOD POSITION TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. ONE CAN ARGUE, WITH CONSIDERABLE
JUSTICE, THAT CONTACT GROUP WILL NOW HAVE A MORAL OBLIGA-
TION TO COOPERATE IF SOUTH AFRICA PROCEEDS TO FREE
NAMIBIA UNDER AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT OVER SWAPO'S OPPOSI-
TION. MOREOVER, EVEN IF OUR DESIRE TO AVOID ANY STEP
ASSOCIATING OURSELVES WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS REMAINS
VERY STRONG, PUBLIC OPINION IN THE U.S., IN THE WAKE OF
SWAPO'S INTRANSIGENCE, WILL BE OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR
OF SUPPORTING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

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3. IN THAT EVENT THERE WILL BE VERY HEAVY COSTS TO U.S.
IF AFRICANS WERE TO ADOPT A POSITION OF HOSTILE OPPOSI-
TION, WE COULD FIND OURSELVES IN A WORSE POSITION IN THE
UN THAN WE HAVE EVER BEEN: THUS BEFORE, THE AFRICANS
AGREED THAT WE SIDED WITH THEM RHETORICALLY ON NAMIBIA;
THEIR COMPLAINT WAS THAT WE DID NOT SUPPORT THEM SUB-

STANTIVELY. IN THE SCENARIO I AM OUTLINING WE COULD BE IN RHETORICAL AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE AFRICANS. THE SOVIETS WOULD TRY TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION FOR ALL IT WAS WORTH.

4. FACED WITH THIS PROSPECT, WE OBVIOUSLY MUST DO ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE TO BRING PRESSURE ON SWAPO. THERE ARE ONLY THREE WAYS THIS CAN BE DONE -- THROUGH THE SOVIETS, THROUGH THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND THROUGH ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE MORE MODERATE FORCES WITHIN SWAPO -- AND IN THE COMING DAYS WE SHOULD PRESS HARD ON ALL THREE APPROACHES. BUT IF ALL THREE APPROACHES FAIL, WHAT THEN?

5. WE HAVE TWO BASIC OPTIONS: GETTING THE TACIT SUPPORT OF THE AFRICANS FOR MOVING AHEAD ANYWAY OR PERSUADING THEM EVEN IF THEY ARE OPPOSED NOT TO CLOSE THE DOOR TO A SHIFT IN POSITIONS LATER.

6. THE WAY WE AND SOUTH AFRICA STYLE A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT WITHOUT SECURITY COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE. I HAVE USED THE TERM "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN DESCRIBING SUCH A SITUATION, BUT THIS IS A CODEWORD WHICH WOULD ONLY COMPOUND OUR DIFFICULTIES IN THE UN. IF THE SAG IS WILLING TO CONTINUE ITS COOPERATION WITH CONTACT GROUP AND PAY ATTENTION TO OUR SUGGESTIONS, WE SHOULD IN TURN DESCRIBE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AS BEING CONSISTENT WITH WESTERN FIVE PROPOSALS AND THUS WORTHY OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. EVEN IF AFRICAN GROUP IN UN IS UNWILLING TO PERMIT SECURITY COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSALS IN THE FACE OF SWAPO INTRANSIGENCE, THE FRONT LINE MIGHT BE WILLING TO ACQUIESCE TACITLY IN OUR EFFORTS AS LONG AS IT IS APPARENT THAT WE ARE ABLE TO INFLUENCE SAG IN THE DIRECTION OF FAIR ELECTIONS WITHOUT INTIMIDATION. HOWEVER, SWAPO INTERNAL'S WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH AN ELECTION WOULD BE KEY TO SUCH AN ACCOMMODATION AND AT THE MOMENT THAT SEEMS UNLIKELY.

7. SO WE MAY QUICKLY FALL BACK TO THE SECOND OPTION OF CONVINCING SOUTH AFRICA TO MOVE AHEAD IN A MANNER THAT MAY HELP THE AFRICANS TO REVERSE FIELD LATER.

8. FROM OUR STANDPOINT IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA DO THREE THINGS: (A) ABANDON PUBLICLY ALL THOUGHT OF ESTABLISHING AN ETHNICALLY BASED REGIME IN NAMIBIA; (B) CONDUCT A DEMONSTRABLY FREE AND FAIR ELECTION IN NAMIBIA; AND (C) BE GENEROUS WITH THE NEW NAMIBIA GOVERNMENT ON KEY ISSUES LIKE WALVIS BAY. WITH THESE

THREE GOALS IN MIND WE WOULD NEED TO GET SOUTH AFRICA
TO TAKE SOME OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

(A) FREE IMMEDIATELY ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS,
PARTICULARLY INCLUDING TOIVO.

(B) PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE THAT, SWAPO'S REJECTION NOT
WITHSTANDING, IT PLANNED TO CONDUCT THE LIBERATION OF
NAMIBIA IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS.

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DEPT. FOR IO ONLY FROM MAYNES

(C) PUBLICLY INVITE THE WORLD PRESS TO OBSERVE THE
ELECTIONS WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM TO MOVE ABOUT.

(D) ENCOURAGE CHURCH LEADERS IN NAMIBIA TO INVITE
CO-RELIGIONISTS FROM ABROAD TO OBSERVE THE ELECTIONS.

(E) INVITE JOURNALISTS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF POLITI-
CAL GROUPS TO OBSERVE POLICE ACTIVITIES.

(F) FOREGO ALL HOT PURSUIT RAIDS INTO NEIGHBORING
STATES IN THE COMING MONTHS.

(G) NOW THAT NUJOMA AND SWAPO EXTERNALS HAVE DEALT
THEMSELVES OUT OF THE POLITICAL PICTURE, ANNOUNCE BEFORE
THE ELECTIONS WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS
OVER WALVIS BAY WITH WHATEVER GOVERNMENT EMERGES TO
ARRANGE FINAL TRANSFER RPT FINAL TRANSFER OF THAT TERRI-

TORY TO NAMIBIA.

9. THERE MAY BE OTHER WAYS WE COULD REDUCE THE NUMBER
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OF WANTS AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL DISPLAY. I BELIEVE
WE SHOULD BEGIN THINKING THROUGH SUCH MEASURES ON A
PRIORITY BASIS. IF YOU BELIEVE THEY HAVE MERIT, WE COULD
BEGIN TO TRY THEM OUT ON CONTACT GROUP. PLEASE REPEAT
NAMIBIAN CABLES TO ME SO I CAN FOLLOW YOUR EFFORTS.
VANDEN HEUVEL

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